Los Angeles Times
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A bid for a third term? 'It could get messy'

If Trump does try to run again, he might set off legal battles over ballot access in states nationwide.

By Michael Wilner

WASHINGTON — In a private meeting at a global summit in Buenos Aires in 2018, China's president, Xi Jinping, turned to President Trump and said it was a shame he couldn't stay in power beyond the two-term limit set by the U.S. Constitution. Trump agreed.

It was just one of several instances in which Trump mused over the prospects of an extra-constitutional reign in the White House.

"He's talked about it for a really long time," said John Bolton, Trump's national security advisor from 2018 to 2019, recalling the meeting. "It's on his mind, and he'd like to do it."

The possibility of Trump running for a third term gained fresh attention this weekend after the president told NBC that he was "not joking" about pursuing one.

"There are methods," Trump said. "But I'm not — it is far too early to think about it."

Attorneys, scholars and state officials disagree. The knowledge that Trump may bid to stay in power, in a direct challenge to the 22nd Amendment, already has election officials in secretaries of state offices throughout the country bracing for legal battles that could begin as soon as next year.

The plain language of the amendment, which states that "no person shall be elected to the office of the President more than twice," will also factor into local races starting next year for secretaries of state across the nation — key offices that will determine ballot qualification and interpret, or ignore, inevitable rulings on Trump's eligibility from the courts.

"Individual states and federal courts would almost certainly move to keep him off ballots," said Alex Conant, former communications director for Marco Rubio's 2016 presidential campaign and a founding partner of Firehouse Strategies. "It could," he added, "get messy."

Some of Trump's most prominent current and former attorneys doubt that the president has a path to a third term, absent a laborious, politically challenging and time-consuming constitutional amendment. An amendment must be approved by three-fourths of the states (38 out of 50).

Pam Bondi, the presi-

[See Third term, A4]

GENARO MOLINA Los Angeles Times

KEITH AARON ROBINSON, 44, shares a warm moment with Brianna Choudary, 26, in front of his tent in Skid Row in downtown Los Angeles in March. Robinson has been living homeless there for seven years.

LAFD actions kept in secrecy

Agency has denied public records requests and stayed silent on key questions about equipment and decisions in Palisades fire

By Alene Tchekmedyian and Paul Pringle

More than 2½ months after flames leveled much of Pacific Palisades, the Los Angeles Fire Department and Mayor Karen Bass' office have maintained extraordinary secrecy about the city's preparations for and response to the inferno.

The Fire Department, the mayor and her representatives have yet to provide answers to basic questions from The Times about whether they approved the LAFD's plan to protect the Palisades before the Jan. 7 blaze. Nor have they addressed The Times' questions about which LAFD crews were the first to arrive at the scene.

At the same time, the LAFD has denied dozens of public records requests from journalists and others related to its handling of the fire, including 911 calls, dispatch logs and internal communications about preparations for the extreme winds.

Two former LAFD chief officers say those records should have been available for release since the early days of the fire.

Some victims of the Palisades conflagration have criticized the lack of transparency, while open government advocates say the city's refusal to release public records runs afoul of disclosure laws.

"It's absolutely frustrating," said Sue Pascoe, who lost her home of 30 years in the fire and is the editor of the Palisades news website Circling the News. "People

[See Secrecy, A7]

A cautionary tale from Myanmar

7.7 temblor raises quake preparedness questions in Asia and beyond

By Stephanie Yang

TAIPEI, Taiwan — Weak building codes and years of government unrest appear to have contributed to the devastation from the magnitude 7.7 Myanmar earthquake, a leading seismic safety expert in the region said.

The Friday earthquake originated near Mandalay, Myanmar's second-largest city of about 1.5 million, from rubbing tectonic plates along the Sagaing fault, which runs through the center of the country. The temblor has killed more than 2,000 people and injured more than 3,900.

More than 600 miles away in Bangkok, the Thai capital, buildings buckled. But stronger building codes — and distance from the epicenter — left Thailand with

[See Myanmar, A4]

THEIN ZAW Associated Press

PROXIMITY to the quake epicenter and weak building codes have left Myanmar with a heavy toll. Above, a Buddhist monk passes a collapsed pagoda in Mandalay.

Breakup looms for L.A. service agency

Board may split up city-county homeless authority and its funds. Some at City Hall are unnerved.

By David Zahniser and Rebecca Ellis

To its supporters, the Los Angeles Homeless Services Authority was just starting to hit its stride.

Last summer, the little-known but well-funded agency announced that homelessness had effectively leveled off across Los Angeles County after years of increases. Results for the city of Los Angeles were even more encouraging, with the number of "unsheltered" homeless people — those living on the street — falling by more than 10%.

LAHSA's top executives have promised to show more progress against the humanitarian crisis in the coming months, when the latest homelessness numbers are formally released.

But instead of drawing praise, the city-county homeless agency is under fire from multiple directions — and on the verge of being pulled apart.

On Tuesday, the L.A. County Board of Supervisors is scheduled to vote on a plan to move more than $300 million and hundreds of workers out of LAHSA and into a new county homelessness department. Officials in the cash-strapped city of L.A. recently began exploring a similar step.

Meanwhile, a federal judge has been savaging LAHSA. At a hearing last week, U.S. District Judge David O. Carter criticized LAHSA's numbers as untrustworthy, assailed it over its financial controls and even denounced the location of its offices.

"I will never go into LAHSA's office building again because it's ostentatious," said Carter, who oversees settlement agreements on the allocation of homeless services.

LAHSA's top executive, Va Lecia Adams Kellum, sent Carter a letter last week spelling out the improvements her agency has been working on. Carter responded by accusing her of making "meaningless" promises.

Adams Kellum, who took over LAHSA two years ago, said the day after the court hearing that her agency has been working to improve its data collection and upgrade its system for tracking available shelter beds. LAHSA increased the number of homeless people moved off the street and into interim

[See LAHSA, A10]

Urgent call to assess bridges for collapse risk

USC women vie for Final Four berth

Trojans took on Connecticut late Monday. For coverage, go to e-newspaper and latimes.com/sports.

Photographs by ROBERT GAUTHIER Los Angeles Times

JUILLIARD PRESIDENT Damian Woetzel choreographs an interactive performance with Yo-Yo Ma, who swapped his Stradivarius for a cello belonging to a student at Florence Nightingale Middle School. The fundraiser took place at the warehouse where about a dozen LAUSD employees repair the district's 130,000 instruments.

'Last Repair Shop' raises funds with help from Yo-Yo Ma

[**LAUSD,** from E1]
for a $2,000 tuba, it's not going to happen for most students, right?" he said.

"That's why we are doing whatever we can to protect this shop and to rally the community to support it so that L.A. can keep this beautiful, wonderful thing that pretty much every other city in America has cut or privatized. Like so many things in our world, musical instruments [in other school districts] have been put behind a paywall for kids."

At the emotional core of "The Last Repair Shop" are the stories of the dedicated technicians and the students who benefit from the free instruments. The message: Music education has the power to transform lives.

Proudfoot said the fundraising campaign has received about 1,330 gifts from individuals in 30 states so far, many of which were small donations of $10 to $25. Together, those donations add up to more than $700,000.

At Sunday's event, the campaign organizers — who include philanthropist Jerry Kohl and Juilliard President Damian Woetzel — celebrated a $1-million donation from the Chuck Lorre Family Foundation, founded by the veteran TV producer behind "Dharma & Greg," "Two and a Half Men" and "The Big Bang Theory." A new sign that reads "The Lorre Family Strings Department" will hang above one section of the shop.

Proudfoot said that naming opportunities for the brass, woodwind and piano shop, as well as other parts of the warehouse, are available to future donors.

Proudfoot's co-director, Bowers, was unable to attend the event because of the recent birth of his second child. In an email to The Times, he cited his personal

in their passion."

Ahead of their performance with Ma, Calcaneo, Brinker and Nova exhibited a cool confidence.

"When I first got told I was playing with Yo-Yo Ma, I was like, wow, that's not real. That feels like a lie," Nova said. "And now I'm here with one of the most renowned musicians in the world."

Brinker, the seventh-grade violinist, said she had watched videos of Ma playing cello online.

"Now that I've played with professionals before, I'm a little less scared," she said.

"I'm not nervous," Calcaneo said, adding later: "We rehearsed on our own and it sounded really good. I can only imagine how good it will sound with Yo-Yo Ma!"

The quartet's performance of "Ode to Joy" did indeed sound good. Brinker kicked it off with a tender solo rendition of the opening bars of Beethoven's theme. Ma watched her intently, smiled broadly and responded with his own elegant version of the same theme.

Ma also offered a benediction to the repair shop, playing the Prelude from Bach's Cello Suite No. 1 in G Major on the same borrowed cello. He and Woetzel, a former principal dancer with the New York City Ballet, also led the audience in an interactive performance of George Balanchine's ballet "Serenade," set to Tchaikovsky's 1880 Serenade for Strings in C, Op. 48.

In between performances, Ma and Woetzel chatted about why they believe music education is a public good and a human right. Offering access to free musical instruments is essential, Ma said.

"There are few things in life that are non-transactional," Ma said. "The

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With the markets in chaos, a GOP pushback

Some Republicans in Congress want to limit the president's ability to impose tariffs on other countries.

By Faith E. Pinho

WASHINGTON — As the fallout over President Trump's tariffs continues to roil the world economy, a few Republicans in Congress have begun discussing how to curb the president's ability to levy tariffs — taking a rare step to rein in the party leader.

Republican leaders have largely struck a "wait-and-see" attitude toward the tariffs, as well as with their continued effect on the plunging stock market and negative consumer sentiment. House Speaker Mike Johnson told reporters Monday that Congress would "weigh in on it, but with the president, with the administration in tandem."

"I think you've got to give the president the latitude, the runway to do what it is he was elected to do, and that is to get the economy going again and get our trade properly balanced with other countries," Johnson said.

But others in Congress — including a couple of California Republicans — don't want to wait.

Sen. Chuck Grassley (R-Iowa) introduced a bill last week, alongside Sen. Maria Cantwell (D-Wash.) and other lawmakers of both parties, to reassert Congress' authority and limit the president's power over trade policy. The Trade Review Act of 2025 would require the president to notify Congress of any new tariffs within 48 hours, and to provide analysis and reason for their purpose. It also would allow Congress 60 days to review the tax.

"I've long expressed my view that congress has delegated too much authority on trade to the executive branch under Republican & Democrat presidents," Grassley posted on X.

Rep. Don Bacon (R-Neb.) said Sunday that he would introduce a companion bill in the House, so it could advance in both chambers.

Already, several Republican lawmakers — including California Rep. David Valadao, a Hanford Republican who holds the precarious [See Tariffs, A7]

Washington Post

A PAUSE IN WRONGFUL DEPORTATION CASE

Jennifer Vasquez Sura, left, whose husband, Kilmar Abrego Garcia, was deported to El Salvador, is hugged by a supporter. The Supreme Court paused a judge's order demanding his return. **NATION, A4**

Trump says he won't bend on tariffs

The president gives no sign of a rapid course correction and threatens even stiffer levies on China.

By Michael Wilner

WASHINGTON — Mixed messages on trade from the Trump administration threw markets into further turbulence on Monday, leaving investors, foreign governments and the president's own allies desperate for an off-ramp from a dramatic increase in global tariffs scheduled to go into effect Tuesday night.

Yet President Trump, posting on social media and speaking to reporters throughout the day, gave no indication he was open to a rapid course correction, suggesting some of his new tariff rates — set at a baseline of 10% for all countries, but increasing substantially for some of the largest U.S. trading partners — would be permanent. Other rates, he said, might be the subject of bilateral negotiations without any guarantee of success that could take weeks, months or even years.

The mere rumor that Trump would consider a pause in the policy led to a fleeting rally on Wall Street, only for stocks to plummet again on word from the White House that the suggestion was "fake news." The day of confusion led the Dow Jones industrial average and Standard & Poor's 500 to post moderate losses at the closing bell, with the Nasdaq up a fraction of a point.

From the Oval Office, Trump said he would escalate an emerging trade war with China after Beijing said it would respond to a new U.S. tariff rate of 34% with an identical tariff hike of its own. In response, Trump said, he would add another 50% tariff increase on Chinese imports — a move that would result in Chinese products facing 104% import duties by Wednesday.

[See Trump, A7]

California schools scramble as more foreign students lose visas

Discovery of other affected campuses stokes confusion and concern

By Jaweed Kaleem

Confusion and concern have ratcheted up at California colleges as campus officials indicated they were caught unaware by the Trump administration's cancellation late last week of dozens of international student visas.

Federal authorities have revoked at least 83 foreign student visas within the University of California and California State University systems and at Stanford, college officials said.

UCLA confirmed Sunday that federal authorities revoked the visas of 12 community members: six current students and six recent graduates. In a campus message, Chancellor Julio Frenk implied the government had not notified UCLA ahead of time. The issues were found during a "routine audit" of an immigrant student database connected to the Department of Homeland Security, he said. The government had shifted students' status and canceled their visas from the State Department.

"The termination notices indicate that all terminations were due to violations of the terms of the individuals' visa programs," Frenk said in his campus message. "At this time, UCLA is not aware of any federal law enforcement activity on campus related to these terminations."

He later told the campus: "We recognize that these actions can bring feelings of tremendous uncertainty and anxiety to our community. We want our immigrant [See Students, A5]

When pot investments go up in smoke

Brash, Porsche-driving entrepreneur behind a cannabis shop in Hollywood is accused of fraud in lawsuits.

By Noah Goldberg

To investors, Vincent Mehdizadeh pitched himself as a rags-to-riches Los Angeles success story — a man whose family fled religious fundamentalism in Iran and who later grew up to transform the legal cannabis industry through technology.

Amanda Villegas For The Times

VINCENT MEHDIZADEH calls himself an "avid" founder of Pineapple Express. He denies wrongdoing.

As the founder of Medbox, a company that pioneered the use of biometric sensors in pot vending machines, Mehdizadeh wrote that he had "pushed the conversation about cannabis, an amazing wonder plant, into the mainstream public's psyche."

So, when the brash, Porsche-driving weed entrepreneur announced he was advising several partners in the creation of a chain of swank cannabis shops dubbed "Pineapple Express," investors such as Grammy-winning rapper Tauheed K. Epps, or 2 [See Cannabis, A10]

A milestone in schools' rebuild

Campuses burned in Palisades fire are ahead of schedule in debris cleanup. **CALIFORNIA, B1**

Dodgers feted at White House

The club is welcomed by Trump and lauded for 2024 World Series title in a traditional ceremony. **SPORTS, B10**

Yo-Yo Ma plays with LAUSD

Cellist joins "Last

SGT. JOE HARRIS, 1916 - 2025

Paratrooper who served in World War II

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"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

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THE WEATHER
Rain will linger across New England today. Thunderstorms are expected to develop from the Texas Panhandle to Kansas. Rainy across California. Weather map is on Page B8.

APR 2 8 2025

Spending Plan Would Hobble Safety Net Aid

Targeting Billions From 'Radical' Programs

By ALAN RAPPEPORT and TONY ROMM

WASHINGTON — The Trump administration, which has made clear that it aims to slash government spending, is preparing to unveil a budget proposal as soon as next week that includes draconian cuts that would entirely eliminate some federal programs and fray the nation's social safety net.

The proposed budget for the 2026 fiscal year would cut billions of dollars from programs that support child care, health research, education, housing assistance, community development and older adults, according to preliminary documents reviewed by The New York Times. The proposal, which is being finalized by the White House's Office of Management and Budget, also targets longstanding initiatives that have been prized by Democrats and that Republicans view as "woke" or wasteful spending.

Technically, the president's blueprint is merely a formal recommendation to Congress, which must ultimately adopt any changes to spending. The full extent of President Trump's proposed cuts for 2026 is not yet clear. Rachel Cauley, a spokeswoman for the Office of Management and Budget, said in a statement that "no final funding decisions have been made."

But early indications suggest the budget will aim to formalize Mr. Trump's disruptive reorganization of the federal government. That process — largely overseen by the tech billionaire Elon Musk — has frozen billions of dollars in aid, shuttered some programs and dismissed thousands of workers from their jobs, prompting numerous court challenges.

The early blueprint reflects Mr. Trump's long-held belief that some federal antipoverty pro-

Continued on Page A13

More on the White House

DEPORTATIONS An updated suit was the latest challenging use of the Alien Enemies Act. PAGE A15

TRADE President Trump said "we're meeting with China," which Beijing denied. PAGE A6

MINING An executive order pits the U.S. against the world over minerals under the sea. PAGE A15

HAIYUN JIANG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A security expert said Pete Hegseth was one of the "most targeted people in the world for espionage."

Hegseth's Use of Personal Phone Exposes the U.S.

Number in Signal Chat Is Found All Over the Internet

This article is by Helene Cooper, Julian E. Barnes, Eric Schmitt and Christiaan Triebert.

WASHINGTON — Defense Secretary Pete Hegseth's personal phone number, the one used in a recent Signal chat, was easily accessible on the internet and public apps as recently as March, potentially exposing national security secrets to foreign adversaries.

The phone number could be found in a variety of places, including WhatsApp, Facebook and a fantasy sports site. It was the same number through which the defense secretary, using the Signal commercial messaging app, disclosed flight data for American strikes on the Houthi militia in Yemen.

Cybersecurity analysts said an American defense secretary's communications device would usually be among the most protected national security assets.

"There's zero percent chance that someone hasn't tried to install Pegasus or some other spyware on his phone," Mike Casey, the former director of the National Counterintelligence and Security Center, said in an interview. "He is one of the top five, probably, most targeted people in the world for espionage."

Emily Harding, a defense and security expert at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, added: "You just don't want the secretary of defense's phone number to be out there and available to anyone."

The chief Pentagon spokesman, Sean Parnell, did not respond to a request for comment.

Mr. Hegseth's use of Signal to convey details of military strikes in Yemen first surfaced last month when the editor of The Atlantic wrote an article that said he had been added, apparently accidentally, to an encrypted chat among senior U.S. government officials. The New York Times reported this week that Mr. Hegseth included sensitive information about the strikes in a Signal group chat he set up with his wife and brother,

Continued on Page A16

Trump Is Going Too Far In Amassing His Power, Most Voters in Poll Say

New Term Called 'Scary' and 'Chaotic' as Confidence in President Dims

This article is by Shane Goldmacher, Ruth Igielnik and Camille Baker.

Voters believe that President Trump is overreaching with his aggressive efforts to expand executive power, and they have deep doubts about some of the signature pieces of his agenda, a New York Times/Siena College poll found.

The turbulent early months of Mr. Trump's administration are seen as "chaotic" and "scary" by majorities of voters — even many who approve of the job he is doing. Voters do not view him as understanding the problems in their daily lives and have soured on his leadership as he approaches his 100th day in office.

Mr. Trump's approval rating sits at 42 percent. His standing is historically low for a president this early in a term, but it is in line with his stubborn unpopularity, which did not prevent him from sweeping the battleground states in last year's election.

Now, however, voters express dimming confidence about Mr. Trump's handling of some of the top issues that propelled him back to the White House, including the economy and immigration, even as most Americans support deportations. Only 43 percent said they approved of the way he has managed the economy this term, a serious erosion on an issue long seen as a strength.

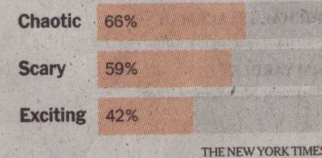
The president's pursuit of widespread tariffs — which has caused stock-market drops and gyrations — was opposed by 55 percent of voters, including 63 percent of independents.

Taken together, the survey's findings show that any second-term honeymoon for Mr. Trump is over. His approval rating among crucial independent voters is now at a woeful 29 percent.

Voters said he had "gone too far" on issue after issue: his tariffs, his immigration enforcement, his cuts to the federal work force. Broad numbers of independent voters sided with Democrats in

Continued on Page A12

Percent of voters who said the following words described Donald Trump's second term in office well:

Word	Percent
Chaotic	66%
Scary	59%
Exciting	42%

THE NEW YORK TIMES

F.B.I. Arrests Judge, Saying She Tried to Help Immigrant Escape

By DEVLIN BARRETT

F.B.I. agents arrested a Milwaukee County judge on Friday on charges of obstructing immigration agents, saying she steered an undocumented immigrant through a side door in her courtroom while the agents waited to arrest him in a public hallway.

The decision to charge a sitting state court judge is a major escalation in the Trump administration's battle with local authorities over deportations. The administration has demanded, under threat of investigation or prosecution, that local officials not impede federal efforts to deport millions of undocumented immigrants, and the arrest sent a message that the administration intends to take a harder line with those that do.

The arrest of the judge, Hannah Dugan, comes after months of rising tensions between the Trump administration and the judiciary. President Trump and his top advisers have repeatedly assailed "local judges" for halting or questioning actions taken by the administration, particularly when it comes to immigration cases.

Mr. Trump's drive to round up and deport large numbers of migrants has also led to other disputes with federal judges, especially over his use of the Alien En-

Continued on Page A14

Santos Is Given 7-Year Sentence To Cap His Fall

By MICHAEL GOLD and GRACE ASHFORD

George Santos, the former Republican congressman from New York whose outlandish fabrications and criminal schemes fueled an unforeseen rise and spectacular fall, was sentenced to more than seven years in federal prison on Friday.

His 87-month sentence was a severe corrective to a turbulent period in which Mr. Santos was catapulted from anonymity to political and pop cultural infamy, a national spotlight that, even when negative, he often relished more than rejected.

Mr. Santos pleaded guilty last year to wire fraud and aggravated identity theft. He acknowledged his involvement in a variety of other deceptions, including lying to Congress, fraudulently collect-

ASSOCIATED PRESS

Blast Kills Senior Russian Officer

How $10 Million Quietly Crept From DeSantis Wife's Charity

Path of Windfall Leads to a Ballot Measure

By PATRICIA MAZZEI

MIAMI — A charity meant to help people stay off public assistance was the signature project of Florida's popular first lady, Casey DeSantis. But over three years, it had managed to raise only about $2 million to help struggling families in Florida.

Then last fall, a $10 million windfall suddenly arrived from an unlikely source: a Medicaid contractor embroiled in a case of overbilling.

Within weeks, the money was gone — not to churches or other groups helping the needy. Instead, the Hope Florida Foundation quietly funneled it to two nonprofit political committees that helped Gov. Ron DeSantis and his allies defeat a November ballot measure that would have legalized marijuana.

The mystery of the $10 million — and how it ended up being used to help the governor's political

makers and news reporters are investigating the money trail just as Mr. and Ms. DeSantis are mulling whether she should run for governor next year to succeed her husband.

Ms. DeSantis has made the Hope Florida initiative central to her public persona since she started the program in 2021. Hope Florida connects low-income families with churches and local groups that might help them with housing, food or other needs so that they do not seek government assistance; the Hope Florida Foundation is its nonprofit fundraising arm.

"Hope Florida is a philosophy," Ms. DeSantis said in St. Augustine, Fla., on Thursday at an event with the governor trumpeting

Cooking

What to Make Next Week

Our recipes for next week go all out on spice and punch. Ghee-toasted spices fire up the vegetable pulao. Hoisin sauce makes for a noodle dish that's sweet, salty and robust. Ginger and Dijon mustard give zing to our Greek yogurt-marinated salmon. The combination of mint, lemon and garlic is a game changer in the broccoli-walnut pesto pasta. And the heat level of our chicken thighs with hot honey is easy to adjust: Just choose your hot sauce carefully. Here's to dishes that pack a wallop.

Visit NYT Cooking for thousands more recipes, advice and inspiration: nytcooking.com

ARMANDO RAFAEL FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES. FOOD STYLIST: CYD RAFTUS McDOWELL.

Vegetable Pulao

Priya Krishna's vegetable pulao will work with whatever vegetables you crave or have on hand. Priya richly seasons them with ghee-toasted spices before adding the basmati rice to the pot. Serve the cozy meal with yogurt and maybe some Indian pickle on the side, and then be sure to stash any leftovers in the fridge for a fragrant lunch the next day. *MELISSA CLARK*

BY PRIYA KRISHNA
TIME: 55 MINUTES
YIELD: 4 SERVINGS

- 1 cup basmati rice, thoroughly rinsed
- 2 tablespoons ghee, plus more for serving
- 1 (1-inch) cinnamon stick
- 1 black cardamom pod (or 2 green cardamom pods), see Tip
- 1 bay leaf
- 1½ teaspoons cumin seeds
- 1 teaspoon black peppercorns
- ½ teaspoon ground turmeric
- 1 small onion, thinly sliced
- 1 green chile, such as Thai bird's eye or Serrano, slit in half lengthwise (optional)
- 1 medium russet potato, cut into small cubes
- 2 medium carrots, cut into 1-inch sticks
- ½ cup frozen peas (no need to thaw)
- 1½ teaspoons coarse kosher salt (such as Morton)
- Plain yogurt, for serving

1. Soak the basmati rice for 15 minutes in room temperature water, then drain well.

2. In a large (preferably deep) skillet over medium heat, melt the ghee. Add the cinnamon, cardamom, bay leaf, cumin and peppercorns and toast until fragrant and the cumin turns a slightly darker shade of brown, 1 to 2 minutes. Swirl in the turmeric and let it dissolve into the ghee.

3. Add the onion and chile and cook, stirring occasionally, until the onion is soft and translucent, 4 to 6 minutes.

4. Add the potato cubes, toss to coat them in the spices and spread in a single layer. Cook, undisturbed, until the potatoes are starting to soften and form a light golden crust on the bottom, 5 to 7 minutes — do not let them cook all the way through, or they'll be mushy in the finished dish.

5. Add the drained rice and carrots, toss everything with the spices and cook 1 minute.

6. Stir in the peas, salt and 2 cups of water. Bring to a boil over high heat, then turn the heat down to maintain a simmer. Cover the pulao and cook for 15 minutes, then turn the heat off and let rest, still covered, for 10 minutes. After 10 minutes, the water should be fully absorbed and the grains fluffy and light yellow. If not, put the pulao back over low heat, and let it cook for a few more minutes, covered.

7. Divide the pulao among bowls and, if desired, top each with a dollop of yogurt and a small spoonful of ghee.

RACHEL VANNI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES. FOOD STYLIST: MONICA PIERINI.

Hoisin Garlic Noodles

I like Hetty Lui McKinnon's new recipe for hoisin garlic noodles for how it combines the excellence of both garlic noodles and soy sauce noodles, then supercharges them with the addition of thick and fragrant hoisin sauce. I might fry some cubes of tofu or a couple of eggs to add to the mix. *SAM SIFTON*

BY HETTY LUI MCKINNON
TIME: 25 MINUTES
YIELD: 4 SERVINGS

- Salt and pepper
- 14 ounces dried wheat or egg noodles
- ¼ cup hoisin sauce
- 2 tablespoons soy sauce
- 1 tablespoon toasted sesame oil
- 2 teaspoons maple syrup or honey
- Vegetable oil
- 6 medium garlic cloves, finely chopped
- 6 scallions, white and green parts separated, thinly sliced
- 4 tablespoons toasted white sesame seeds

1. Bring a large pot of salted water to a boil. Add the noodles and cook according to package instructions until al dente. Drain and rinse until the noodles are cool.

2. Meanwhile, in a small bowl, combine hoisin sauce, soy sauce, sesame oil and maple syrup; set aside.

3. Heat a large 12-inch skillet on medium-high for 2 minutes. Add 1 to 2 tablespoons of oil along with the garlic and white parts of the scallions. Stir until fragrant, about 30 seconds (but don't let the garlic burn!). Immediately add the sauce and then the noodles, and toss well until the noodles are evenly coated.

4. Leave the noodles to cook, undisturbed, until they start sticking to the pan and the bottom looks crispy, 2 to 3 minutes. Taste and season with salt (if needed) and pepper.

5. To serve, transfer to bowls and top with the sesame seeds and the green parts of the scallions.

RYAN LIEBE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES. FOOD STYLIST: BARRETT WASHBURNE.

Greek Yogurt-Marinated Salmon

Here's a recipe for Greek yogurt-marinated salmon from Lidey Heuck. She spent seven years working for Ina Garten, which is good enough for me. Lidey's trick is the yogurt, which she punches up with garlic, ginger and a spoonful of Dijon mustard. It makes the fish especially tender. *KIM SEVERSON*

BY LIDEY HEUCK
TIME: 1½ HOURS
YIELD: 4 SERVINGS

- ½ cup plain Greek yogurt
- 2 tablespoons extra-virgin olive oil
- 1 tablespoon Dijon mustard
- 1 tablespoon light or dark brown sugar
- 2 teaspoons grated fresh ginger
- 1 large or 2 small garlic cloves, grated or minced
- 1 teaspoon sweet paprika
- Kosher salt (such as Diamond Crystal) and black pepper
- 4 (6-ounce) skinless salmon fillets
- Chopped fresh dill, for serving
- 1 lemon, quartered, for serving

1. In a large bowl, combine the yogurt, olive oil, mustard, brown sugar, ginger, garlic, paprika, 1 teaspoon salt and ½ teaspoon pepper, and whisk until smooth.

2. Add the salmon fillets, tossing to coat them in the marinade. Cover and refrigerate for at least 1 hour and up to 24 hours. (Do not marinate longer than that, or the texture of the fish may become overly soft.)

3. Heat the oven to 375 degrees and place a rack in the upper third of the oven. Line a sheet pan with foil and arrange the salmon fillets, evenly spaced, on the pan. Bake for 10 to 12 minutes, depending on the thickness of the fillets and whether they are cut from the center or end of a side of salmon. (The center should still be slightly undercooked; the salmon will finish cooking under the

ARMANDO RAFAEL FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES. FOOD STYLIST: CYD RAFTUS McDOWELL.

Roasted Chicken Thighs With Hot Honey and Lime

Vallery Lomas's five-star recipe is all the more amazing because it's made with pantry ingredients. Serve it with simple sides (rice, sautéed kale or other greens) to let those spicy-sweet flavors shine. *EMILY WEINSTEIN*

BY VALLERY LOMAS
TIME: 35 MINUTES
YIELD: 4 SERVINGS

- 3 pounds bone-in, skin-on chicken thighs
- Salt and black pepper
- ½ teaspoon onion powder
- ½ teaspoon garlic powder
- 2 tablespoons butter (unsalted or salted), melted
- 2 tablespoons hot sauce (see Tip)
- 1 lime
- 2 tablespoons mild honey

1. Heat the oven to 450 degrees. On a foil-lined rimmed baking sheet, season the chicken all over with salt, pepper, onion powder and garlic powder. Arrange the chicken skin side up then roast until browned, 20 minutes.

2. While the chicken is roasting, combine the melted butter and hot sauce and whisk to combine; transfer half to a separate bowl and set aside for later. After the chicken has roasted for 20 minutes, brush the chicken all over with the remaining butter mixture. Continue roasting until the chicken is golden brown and cooked through, 10 to 15 minutes more. Remove the chicken thighs from the oven.

3. Zest the lime, then cut it in half. Add the honey and 1 teaspoon lime zest to the reserved butter-hot sauce mixture and whisk to combine, then brush over the chicken thighs and squeeze the lime juice on top. Serve immediately.

Different hot sauces have different levels of heat; choose one that suits your heat tolerance. Tabasco will be quite spicy, while a brand like Louisiana will yield a milder result.

DAVID MALOSH FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES. FOOD STYLIST: SIMON ANDREWS.

Broccoli-Walnut Pesto Pasta

This broccoli-walnut pesto pasta by Genevieve Ko is fast, a cinch to make and surprisingly complex in flavor: The mix of softly bitter walnuts, refreshing mint and punchy lemon and garlic really sings. I love how this recipe turns that everyday crucifer into a luscious, I-can't-believe-it's-broccoli sauce. *MIA LEIMKUHLER*

BY GENEVIEVE KO
TIME: 25 MINUTES
YIELD: 4 TO 6 SERVINGS

- Kosher salt (such as Diamond Crystal)
- 4 cups broccoli florets (10 ounces from 2 crowns)
- 1 pound cut pasta, such as medium shells
- 1 large garlic clove, smashed
- 2 packed cups fresh mint leaves (about 2 ounces from one small bunch)
- Black pepper
- ½ cup extra-virgin olive oil, plus more for serving
- 1 lemon, zested and juiced

1. Bring a large saucepan of water to a boil over high heat. Add ¼ cup salt, then add the broccoli. Cook, stirring occasionally, until bright green and just tender, about 5 minutes. Use a spider or slotted spoon to transfer to a food processor; keep the water boiling.

2. Drop the pasta into the boiling water and cook according to the package's directions for al dente. Reserve ½ cup pasta cooking water.

3. Meanwhile, add the garlic to the broccoli and pulse, scraping the bowl occasionally, until smooth. Add the mint, 1 teaspoon salt and ½ teaspoon pepper. Pulse until smooth.

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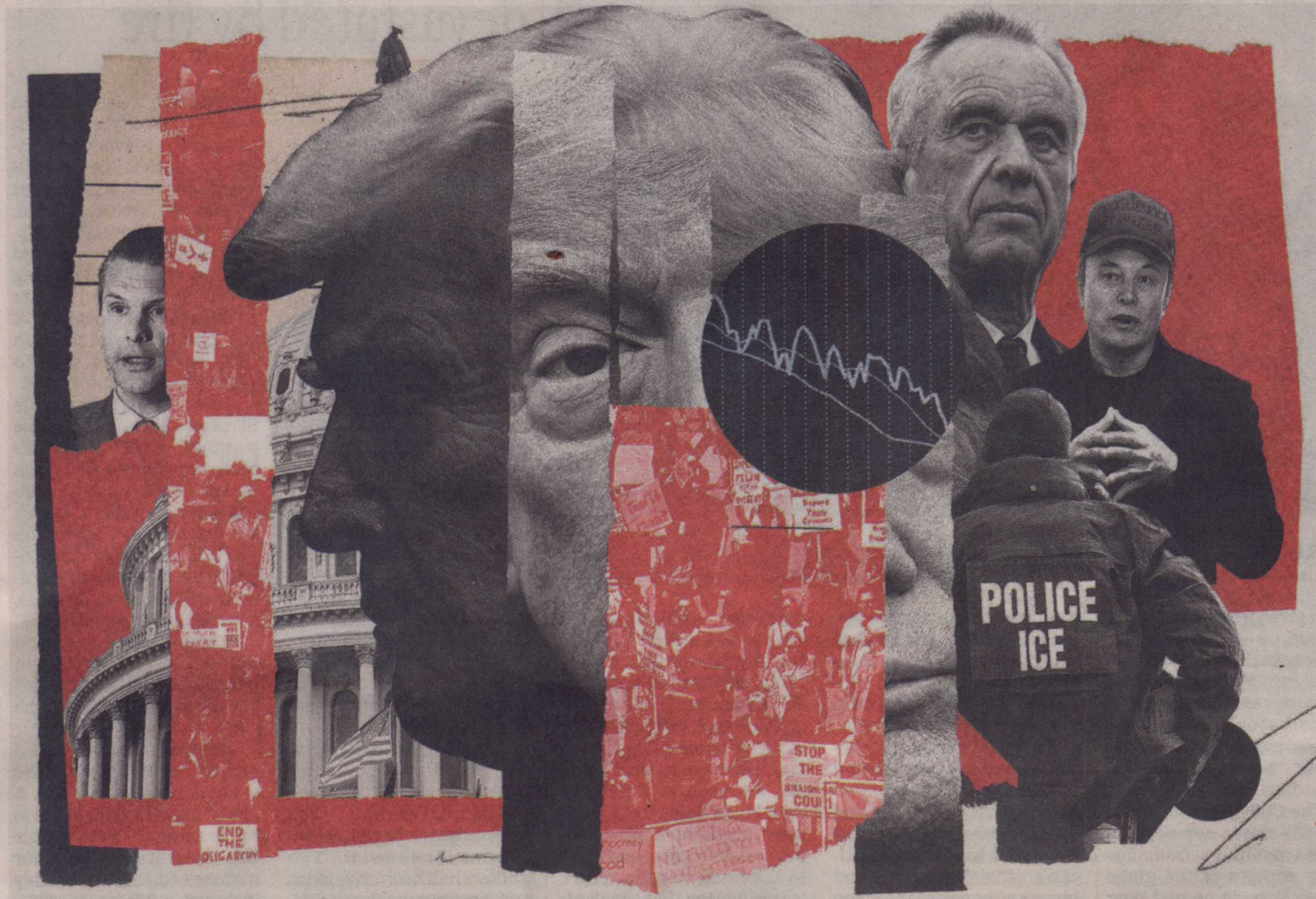
Photo illustration by JIM COOKE Los Angeles Times; Photos by AL DRAGO, CHRISTOPHER DILTS Bloomberg, MATIAS DELACROIX, ALEX BRANDON Associated Press

ANALYSIS

Trump's imperial first 100 days

'Disrupt, break, defund': His second term so far has been a blitz of job and spending cuts, executive orders and tariffs, all in pursuit of expanded power

By Michael Wilner

WASHINGTON — In every government building and federal courthouse, in the offices of boutique nonprofits and the world's largest law firms, in high schools and cancer wards, there is a palpable sense that the country has changed — all within President Trump's first 100 days back in office.

White House officials are hailing the milestone this week, proclaiming that, in his initial sprint, the president has already accomplished much of what he had promised. Border crossings are at their lowest levels in decades. Diversity initiatives are receding. Efforts to shrink the size of government are well underway.

Yet other campaign promises — to bolster the economy, rein in everyday costs, quickly secure peace in Ukraine, root out corruption and end the "weaponization of justice" — seem either elusive to Trump or further out of reach, owing to a series of policy decisions that have soured American public opinion on his presidency in record time.

Trump's own tariff policies, intended in theory to rebalance global trade to the benefit of U.S. manufacturers and farmers, risk immediate pain to American households and a prolonged economic crisis. His efforts to ingratiate himself with Russian President Vladimir Putin have brought the war no closer to an end. And Trump remains in [See Trump, A6]

LEGAL BARRAGE: California has sued the Trump administration 15 times during the president's first 100 days in office. NATION, A5

Orders target local migrant policies

The president's latest directives call for a list of 'sanctuary cities' that do not cooperate with law enforcement.

BY JENNY JARVIE

The Trump administration escalated its showdown with Democratic-led states and cities over immigration enforcement on Monday, announcing that the president will sign executive orders that will "unleash America's law enforcement to pursue criminals" and direct federal agencies to publish a list of "sanctuary cities" that do not cooperate with immigration agents.

White House Press Secretary Karoline Leavitt described the sanctuary city executive order in a morning news briefing as "focused on protecting American communities from criminal aliens."

"This president is trying to simply enforce our nation's immigration laws and is facing roadblock after roadblock," Leavitt said. "We're going to continue to forge ahead with this mass deportation campaign."

The order, she said, will direct the attorney general and secretary of Homeland Security to publish a list of state and local jurisdictions that "obstruct the enforcement of federal immigration laws."

"It's quite simple," Leavitt said in the briefing with border czar Tom Homan. "Obey the law, respect the law, and don't obstruct federal immigration officials [See Sanctuary, A7]

Cash for nursing students pays off

L.A. community colleges use $1,000 monthly stipends to foster multilingual healthcare workforce

BY REBECCA PLEVIN

Community colleges play a critical role in addressing California's persistent demand for healthcare workers, preparing students to become the state's next generation of nurses, medical assistants and physical therapy aides.

But in the Los Angeles Community College District, where more than half of all students report incomes near or below the poverty line, many people struggle to complete their degrees while also holding down jobs to pay rent, buy groceries and cover child-care costs.

A pilot program at the L.A. district — the state's largest, with nine colleges and 194,000 students — aims to address these seemingly intractable challenges with a targeted remedy: $1,000 a month in guaranteed income.

Late last year, the district launched an initiative that provides cash payments for 12 months to 251 students with a demonstrated financial need who are pursuing health careers. The funding is unrestricted, so participants can use the money however they see fit.

The goal of the effort, dubbed Building Outstanding Opportunities for Students to Thrive, or BOOST, is to eliminate financial insecurity so that students can focus on achieving their academic goals and the college system can deliver a diverse, multilingual healthcare workforce to serve L.A. in the process.

The Times followed one student through the first months of the initiative to learn how a guaranteed basic income might influence the lives and choices of L.A. community college stu- [See Students, A9]

CHRISTINA HOUSE Los Angeles Times
ADRIANA OREA, who wants to become a registered nurse, studies at Los Angeles City College on Friday.

Who is overseeing homelessness funds?

Jumble of new boards makes it hard to keep track of oversight and results in L.A. County.

BY DOUG SMITH

After nearly a decade of unprecedented taxpayer spending to fight homelessness with little to show for it, Los Angeles County residents were asked to double down — and told that increased transparency and accountability would avoid previous waste and bring better results.

Voters accepted the deal, and the funding brought in this year under Measure A, a half-cent sales tax instituted in April, combined with the city's "mansion tax" is expected to total at least $1.5 billion.

But the promised oversight — in the form of multiple boards made up of business, housing development and homeless services experts as well as elected officials and prominent nonprofit leaders — so far is proving difficult for members and the public to navigate.

Los Angeles City Councilmember Nithya Raman [See Oversight, A12]

ATF plans fire test in Palisades area

Investigators will set fires to try to determine the origin of the January blaze. CALIFORNIA, B1

Los Angeles Times

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Trump relaxes carmaker tariffs

The president signs executive orders to ease some of his 25% levies on automobiles and parts for them.

By Josh Boak and Alexa St. John

WASHINGTON — President Trump signed executive orders Tuesday to relax some of his 25% tariffs on automobiles and auto parts, the White House said, a significant reversal as the import taxes threatened to hurt domestic manufacturers.

Automakers and independent analyses have indicated that the tariffs could raise prices, reduce sales and make U.S. production less competitive worldwide. Trump portrayed the changes as a bridge toward automakers moving more production into the United States.

"We just wanted to help them during this little transition, short term," Trump told reporters. "We didn't want to penalize them."

Treasury Secretary Scott Bessent, who spoke earlier at a White House briefing Tuesday, said the goal was to enable automakers to create more domestic manufacturing jobs.

"President Trump has had meetings with both domestic and foreign auto producers, and he's committed to bringing back auto production to the U.S.," Bessent said. "So we want to give the automakers a path to do that, quickly, efficiently and create as many jobs as possible."

The administration will offer automakers that finish their vehicles domestically a 15% rebate this year, offsetting the cost of the tariffs. That rebate would be 10% the second year, giving the automakers some time to relocate production of parts

[See Automakers, A7]

JON CHERRY Associated Press

THE NATIONAL Climate Assessment report details the latest science on climate change and looks at progress in addressing global warming. In Frankfort, Ky., people navigate floodwaters at a distillery this month.

Climate report's experts given the boot

Dismissals of 400 scientists raise fear Trump could end the effort or enlist others to attack the findings.

By Ian James and Hayley Smith

The Trump administration this week summarily dismissed more than 400 scientists and other experts who had begun to write the latest National Climate Assessment report, informing them by email that the scope of the report was being re-evaluated.

The report, mandated by Congress, is prepared every four years under a 1990 law. It details the latest science on climate change, and also reports on progress in addressing global warming.

Scientists said they fear the Trump administration could seek to shut down the effort or enlist other authors to write a very different report that aims to attack climate science — a path they say would leave the country ill-prepared for worsening disasters intensified by humanity's warming of the planet, including more intense heat waves, wildfires, droughts, floods and sea-level rise.

"Climate change puts us all at risk, and we all need this vital information to help prepare," said Katharine Hayhoe, a climate scientist at Texas Tech University who was an author of four previous versions of the report, including three times as a lead author. "Without it, the future will be much more dangerous."

She noted that although the assessment is required by law, there aren't specific requirements about who exactly should write the report or the form it should take.

"It could end up being a collection of long-debunked myths and disinformation about climate change," Hayhoe said. "It could end up being a document that is just not useful, does not serve the purpose of providing in-

[See Climate, A11]

A new political fight over civil rights

Democrats accuse Trump loyalist of wrecking an enforcement unit. She says she's targeting 'woke' ideology.

By Kevin Rector

California's two U.S. senators have joined with Democratic colleagues to demand answers from the Trump loyalist and Californian now heading the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division, amid reports that she and other officials have pushed out senior leaders and imposed hard-right policies at odds with the department's mission.

In a letter sent Friday to Assistant Atty. Gen. Harmeet Dhillon, seven senators — including Alex Padilla and Adam Schiff of California — cited reports that Dhillon had emailed directives changing long-standing enforcement goals to employees, including in sections that are "meant to protect voting rights, prevent discrimination by federal funding recipients, investigate illegal bias in housing, prohibit discrimination in education, and defend the rights of those with disabilities."

Those directives "may well be inconsistent" with the intent of Congress when it passed legislation standing up the division, the senators wrote, and must be disclosed to them for review by Thursday.

The senators also referred to reports that multiple career lawyers and supervisors in the unit have left or been reassigned, that

[See Civil rights, A7]

TOM WILLIAMS CQ-Roll Call

ASSISTANT Atty. Gen. Harmeet Dhillon says she expects Justice Department attorneys to enforce President Trump's agenda.

ROBERT GAUTHIER Los Angeles Times

TONY LAM, 88, was elected to the Westminster City Council in 1992, becoming the first of a stream of Vietnamese Americans to win political office in the U.S.

COLUMN ONE

Politician was an original influencer in O.C.'s Little Saigon — and he still is

Outcry over thousands of false positive opioid tests in state's prisons

Incorrect results could taint parole decisions for some California inmates now and in future, advocates say.

By Salvador Hernandez

Thousands of inmates wrongly tested positive for opiate use inside California state prisons last year because of a laboratory mistake, and civil rights attorneys now worry ma[ny of] them could be deni[ed] ... and a chance at ...

part of inmates' drug treatment programs and included in their medical records, but attorneys representing the prisoners said the test results were also included in inmates' parole hearing records as a result, meaning hundreds or th[ou]sands of parole he[arings] could be unfairly ... incorrect test re...

"Part of th... don't kn... how it ... sai...

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Los Angeles Times
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APR 21 2025

ALLEN J. SCHABEN Los Angeles Times
HOMEOWNER Valerie Elachi searches for valuables amid the rubble of her home in Altadena after it was destroyed by the Eaton fire.

Did lack of cityhood hurt Altadena?

Some wonder if unincorporated status had a role in slow evacuation alerts that led to 'catastrophic failure'

By Grace Toohey

In the first 24 hours of the Eaton fire, Pasadena's communications director helped activate four different kinds of alerts to keep its residents apprised of evacuation orders, while also hopping on several news programs and doing interviews to share updates in real time.

Further east, when Arcadia joined the sphere of concern as the fire erratically tore through the San Gabriel foothills, the city's fire chief successfully advocated for unified commanders to issue more widespread evacuations than initially proposed.

[See Altadena, A10]

Monumental fire debris cleanup could finish in June

By James Rainey

A small army of laborers, heavy-equipment operators, hazmat technicians and truck drivers have cleared more than a third of the home lots left in charred ruin by January's firestorms — a frenetic pace that suggests the bulk of the vast government-run cleanup in Los Angeles County could be completed as early as June, officials say.

U.S. Army Corps of Engineers officers overseeing the effort said the crews of mostly private contractors are working at a record clip for a wildfire recovery, clearing nearly 120 lots a day and operating at close to the capacity that roads — and residents close to the fire zones — can tolerate.

The scope of the unfinished work came into clearer focus last week, with the passing of the April 15 deadline for residents of Altadena, Pacific Palisades and Malibu to opt in or out of the cleanup.

Some 10,373 property owners completed "right-of-entry" forms authorizing the Army Corps and government contractors to work on their properties, while 1,698 others opted out of the program, many because they wanted their own crews

[See Debris, A11]

Jewelry owners catch gold fever as price of metal soars

Many are looking to melt their baubles for cash

By Andrea Chang

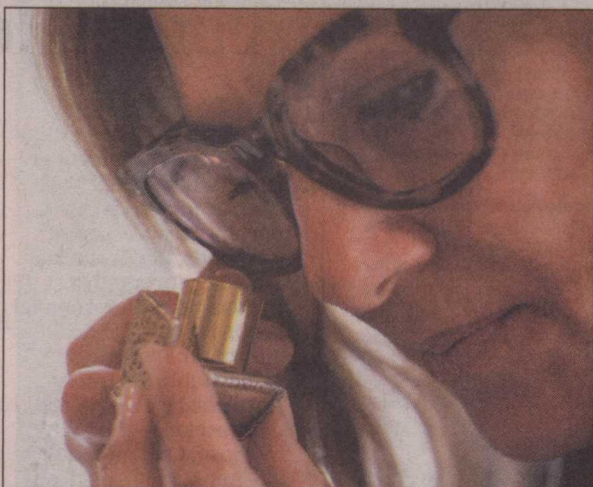
With gold prices at record highs, jewelry collectors are in meltdown mode.

For weeks, they've been scouring their homes and cracking open their safes to retrieve vintage necklaces, family heirlooms and other expensive pieces containing the precious metal that can be melted for cash.

"It happens with every gold spike," said Jeff Clark, a market analyst and founder of TheGoldAdvisor.com. "If you've got a lot of old gold jewelry, it's basically free money."

The price of gold hit an all-time high of $3,357 per ounce on Thursday and is up about 27% from the beginning of the year, driven by factors including geopolitical tensions, tariff turmoil and increased demand from central banks.

Gold has long been considered a safe-haven asset

[See Gold, A9]

JULIANA YAMADA Los Angeles Times
JEWELER Olivia Kazanjian recently persuaded a client to save items with irreplaceable craftsmanship.

SUPREME COURT HALTS DETAINEE REMOVAL

The temporary order comes after lawyers argue the Venezuelan men were at risk of imminent deportation.

By Rachel Uranga, Andrea Castillo and David G. Savage

The U.S. Supreme Court temporarily blocked the removal of Venezuelan detainees accused under a wartime law of being foreign gang members early Saturday morning, after the ACLU argued the men were at risk of imminent removal to a Salvadoran prison.

"The Government is directed not to remove any member of the putative class of detainees from the United States until further order of this Court," the court stated in an unsigned order.

Justices Clarence Thomas and Samuel A. Alito Jr. dissented.

The court's after-midnight intervention heightens its clash with the Trump administration over deportations. It suggests most of the justices are not willing to trust Trump officials to follow its earlier order giving detainees a right to a hearing before they can be deported.

The ACLU had asked multiple courts on Friday to temporarily halt the detainees' removal — arguing in one filing that the Trump administration was busing many of them presumably to an airport to be deported.

In a Friday hearing, Drew C. Ensign, a lawyer for the U.S. Department of Justice, told U.S. District Judge James E. Boasberg in Washington, D.C., that there were no current plans to deport individuals Friday or Saturday by plane presumably to El Salvador, but the Trump administration reserved the right to remove people Saturday.

The ACLU asked the courts for an emergency order after Venezuelan detainees from across the country, including California, were transferred to the Bluebonnet Detention Facility in Anson, Texas, and, according to their filings, told they would be removed as soon as Friday night.

The Trump administration flew hundreds of Venezuelan immigrants deemed members of the gang Tren de Aragua last month to El Salvador, where they are being held in a notorious mega-

[See Court, A8]

State workers cash in on unused

Ukraine skeptical of Easter ceasefire

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APR 29 2025

THE WEATHER
A corridor of showers and thunderstorms will develop from northern Texas to parts of New England and bring a multitude of severe hazards. Weather map appears on Page B10.

Ukraine Pins Its War Hopes On Innovation

With U.S. Aid in Doubt, Drones Provide Cover

By ANDREW E. KRAMER

KUPIANSK, Ukraine — The Ukrainian soldiers rose in the predawn, stretching, rubbing their eyes and rolling up sleeping bags in a basement hide-out near the front line in the country's east. Their day would not take them far afield. Most stayed in the basement, working with keyboards and joysticks controlling drones.

At a precarious moment for Ukraine, as the country wobbles between hopes that President Trump's cease-fire talks will end the war and fears that the United States will withdraw military support, the soldiers were taking part in a Ukrainian Army initiative that Kyiv hopes will allow it to stay in the fight absent American weapons.

Should the peace talks fail, or the United States discontinue arms shipments, the Ukrainian drone initiative is likely to take on more importance. The program doubles down on unmanned systems that are assembled in Ukraine, mostly small exploding drones flown from basement shelters.

On Monday, President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia added to the many uncertainties in the war by ordering a three-day cease-fire in Ukraine next month, though it is unclear if such a pause would hold, or even start. That announcement followed a week of unabated warfare in Ukraine, including the deadliest attack on Kyiv, the capital, in nearly a year, and of conflicting signals about what would come next from the Trump administration.

President Trump has been less critical of Ukraine's leadership in recent days, instead rebuking Mr. Putin for his continuing bombardment of Ukraine. But Mr. Trump

Continued on Page A8

How the Trump White House Reshapes Media Coverage

By ASHLEY WU, REBECCA LIEBERMAN, MICHAEL M. GRYNBAUM and DOUG MILLS

The Trump administration has reconfigured the White House press briefing room to provide more time and space to a new group of openly pro-Trump attendees. Representatives of nontraditional outlets crowd the perimeter — a change from the Biden administration — and are often called on by the president's press secretary, Karoline Leavitt. A closer look at the room, Pages A18-19.

APRIL 8 Karoline Leavitt, press secretary for the Trump White House.

JULY 2 Karine Jean-Pierre, press secretary for the Biden White House.

PHOTOGRAPHS BY ERIC LEE/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Changes Set Off Exodus At Civil Rights Division Of Justice Department

Lawyers Cite Less Focus on Marginalized

By DEVLIN BARRETT

WASHINGTON — Hundreds of lawyers and other staff members are leaving the Justice Department's civil rights division, as veterans of the office say they have been driven out by Trump administration officials who want to drop its traditional work to aggressively pursue cases against the Ivy League, other schools and liberal cities.

The wave of departures has only accelerated in recent days, as the administration reopened its "deferred resignation program," which would allow employees to resign but continue to be paid for a period of time. The offer, for those who work in the division, was to expire on Monday. More than 100 lawyers are expected to take it, on top of a raft of earlier departures, in what would amount to a decimation of the ranks of a crucial part of the Justice Department.

"Now, over 100 attorneys decided that they'd rather not do what their job requires them to do, and I think that's fine," Harmeet K. Dhillon, the new head of the division, said in an interview with the conservative commentator Glenn Beck over the weekend, welcoming the turnover and making plain the division's priorities.

"We don't want people in the federal government who feel like it's their pet project to go persecute" police departments, she said. "The job here is to enforce the federal civil rights laws, not woke ideology."

Traditionally the department has protected the constitutional rights of minority communities and marginalized people, often by monitoring police departments for civil rights violations, protecting the right to vote and fighting housing discrimination.

Now, more than a dozen current and former civil rights division lawyers say, the new administration appears intent on not simply modifying the direction of the work, as has been typical during changeovers from a Democratic administration to a Republican one.

The administration is instead determined, the lawyers said, to fundamentally end how the storied division has functioned since it was established during the Eisenhower administration, becoming an enforcement arm for President Trump's agenda against state and local officials, college administrators and student protesters, among others.

It is a remarkable shift from the start of the second Trump administration, when many lawyers in the division planned to stay on, confident that their work would be much like it was in the first Trump term, with shifting priorities but

Continued on Page A15

CONGRESSIONAL MEMO

Democrats Aim To Play Offense On Rivals' Cuts

By CARL HULSE

WASHINGTON — Out of power, disorganized and stung by their November election losses, Democrats have struggled to mount a coherent response to President Trump as he has unleashed a blitz of contentious nominations, explosive executive orders and an unforeseen rampage by Elon Musk and his acolytes through the executive branch.

Now, with Congress back from its spring recess on Monday and Republicans under pressure to deliver on a legislative agenda, Democrats believe they have a prime opportunity for a reset. Republicans will be forced to begin providing politically charged specifics of their tax and spending program, handing the minority ample fodder for attacks.

House Republicans have so far been able to generalize about their spending plans in the budget outline that they barely squeezed through the House and Senate. But beginning this week in multiple House committees, lawmakers will have to explain in public how they would achieve $1.5 trillion or more in savings to go with hundreds of billions of dollars in new spending on the military and border enforcement, and trillions in tax cuts.

"Up to this point, Republicans have been lying about their

HAIYUN JIANG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Senator Josh Hawley refused to vote for cuts to Medicaid.

G.O.P. Populist Finds His Lane Next to Trump

By ROBERT DRAPER

WASHINGTON — The lone Republican vote in the Senate last month to protect consumers from bank overdraft fees came from an unlikely Democratic ally: Senator Josh Hawley, the archconservative from Missouri best known for calling out "wokeness" in all sectors of society, and for raising his fist to offer solidarity with supporters of President Trump hours before the Jan. 6 assault on the Capitol.

And yet the overdraft vote was hardly the first time Mr. Hawley had stood apart from his Republican colleagues. In 2023 he introduced a bill to cap out-of-pocket insulin costs at $25 per month, which died in committee for lack of Republican support. He has broken from his party by refusing to vote for cuts to Medicaid as part of the budget reconciliation

Pre-Conclave, Smart Strategy Is Play It Cool

By JASON HOROWITZ and ELISABETTA POVOLEDO

ROME — In March 2013, Cardinal Jorge Mario Bergoglio of Argentina gave a roughly four-minute speech at one of the closed-door meetings in the Vatican before the conclave to elect the next pope. The short remarks, envisioning a church that got out of its insular comfort zones and self-referential habits, went over big.

When the cardinals voted in the Sistine Chapel days later, they picked him to lead the way forward, and he emerged as Pope Francis.

On Monday, after hundreds of thousands of faithful came to Francis' funeral and burial over the weekend, cardinals began a critical week of such meetings, where church leaders, including those considered papabili, or pope material, will give brief statements about the major issues facing the church. The meetings began the day after Francis died, but they will now pick up in intensity, becoming a short campaign trail leading to the conclave next month.

They give the cardinals — espe-

Few Repairs Seen for Smashed Economic Order

As Trump Erodes Trust, World Will Adjust

By PATRICIA COHEN

NEWS ANALYSIS

President Trump has made clear his intent to smash the reigning global economic order. And in 100 days, he has made remarkable progress in accomplishing that goal.

Mr. Trump has provoked a trade war, scrapped treaties and suggested that Washington might not defend Europe. He is also dismantling the governmental infrastructure that has provided the know-how and experience.

The changes have been deep. But the world is still churning. Midterm elections in two years could erode the Republican majority in Congress. And Mr. Trump's reign is constitutionally mandated to end in four years. Could the next president come in and undo what the Trump administration has done?

As Cardinal Michael Czerny, a close aide to Pope Francis, said of the Catholic Church: "There is nothing that we have done over 2,000 years that couldn't be rolled back."

The same could be said of global geopolitics. Yet even at this early stage, historians and political scientists agree that on some crucial counts, the changes wrought by Mr. Trump may be hard to reverse.

Like the erosion of trust in the

Continued on Page A10

Many people not getting most out of their savings

Savers aren't earning interest that matches pace of inflation. Here's what you can do. **In Money**

Cleveland's Jarrett Allen an open book off NBA court

Member of Cavaliers' Core Four is defender of rims and supporter of bookstores. **In Sports**

'Andor' embraces galactic stress

Season 2 of "Star Wars" series, starring Diego Luna as a Rebel spy, ups the action and anxiety for its characters and the audience. **In Life**

TOMOHIRO OHSUMI/GETTY IMAGES FOR DISNEY

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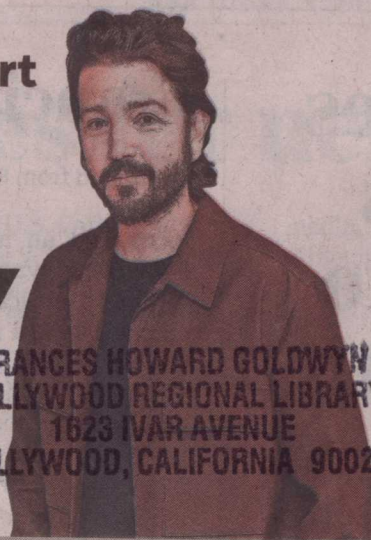

APR 23 2025

Real ID deadline has states scrambling

DMVs struggle to meet last-minute demand

Jeanine Santucci
USA TODAY

After years of delays, the final, very real deadline to have a Real ID while flying in the United States is right around the corner, and some states are in a scramble to make sure everyone has a compliant ID.

Real ID, a standard for travel identification first passed by Congress in 2005, will be a requirement to fly domestically starting May 7 after multiple delays from the original deadline in 2020. Anyone who wants to get on a plane will need either a Real ID or another compliant document like a passport starting that date or risk facing delays or denial to board altogether.

Though Real IDs have been available in most states for years, travelers could still use standard driver's licenses or state IDs to fly within the country. The Department of Homeland Security estimated that by May 2025, somewhere between 61% and 66% of ID holders would have Real IDs.

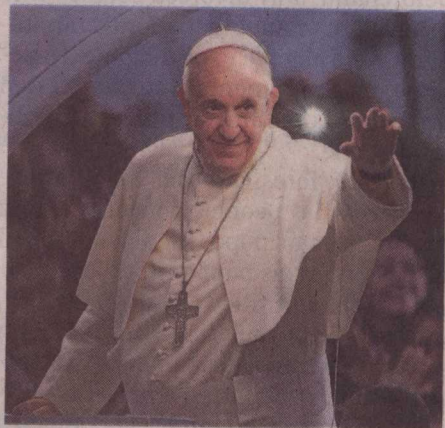
Real ID, an identification standard passed by Congress in 2005, will be a requirement to fly within the United States starting May 7.

The good news is that in some states like Florida, most people with licenses already have Real IDs because anyone who got a new license or renewed a license there since 2010 has gotten the Real ID. Of all Marylanders with state IDs, 99% have Real ID.

But in many states, the Real ID rollout has been optional; some people have chosen a standard license, which might require fewer documents or a lower fee. They will now need to upgrade if they plan to travel by air domestically. Now that the deadline is creeping up, a last-minute scramble is overwhelming some Department of Motor Vehicle offices. In some states, DMVs have added special Real ID-only appointments to satisfy demand, and in others, appointments are hard to come by altogether.

Anticipating a surge of customers looking for Real IDs, several states have extended their DMV hours or set aside special appointment times for the final push before the deadline.

Pope Francis' attempt to alter church authority spurred revolt

Critics viewed his bureaucratic changes as a slippery slope

Pope Francis, who died April 21, waves from the Popemobile at World Youth Day celebrations in Rio de Janeiro in 2013. BUDA MENDES/GETTY IMAGES

Liam Adams Nashville Tennessean | USA TODAY NETWORK

The battle over Pope Francis' reforms opened with a coordinated attack against guidance that eased restrictions on divorced and remarried parishioners receiving communion.

Four conservative bishops challenged Francis' guidance in a document titled "Amoris Laetitia" in a July 2017 letter, issuing a "correction" to "protect our fellow Catholics."

"Heresies and other errors have in consequence spread through the Church," the four bishops wrote.

Francis set out to reshape how the church operates, but not what it teaches. "Amoris Laetitia" was the first major attempt at that. The document emerged from a lengthy discernment process that included public

See FRANCIS, Page 2A

Store owners feel helpless as price hikes near

Salah Salah, who owns Hilal Groceries in Des Moines with his parents, says not even his vendors can help him with his biggest challenge in light of tariffs, figuring out what supplies to order and how much. CODY SCANLAN/USA TODAY NETWORK

International groceries brace for tariffs impact

Christopher Cann and F. Amanda Tugade
USA TODAY NETWORK

from Vietnam. But, he said, because of President Donald Trump's sweeping tariffs, it may

tax and a staggering 145% duty on Chinese imports.

For stores like Hung Phat Grocery –

Jon Hamm blends humor, solemnity in new series

He hopes dramedy "Your Friends & Neighbors" will reprise "Mad Men" magic. **In Life**

WNBA mock draft: A look at first-round predictions

UConn's Paige Bueckers expected to be No. 1 overall pick after NCAA championship. **In Sports**

FRANCES HOWARD GOLDWYN
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HOLLYWOOD, CALIFORNIA 90028

How much will eggs cost this Easter?

Even though wholesale costs are coming down, store prices haven't yet followed suit. Experts explain why. **In Money**

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USA TODAY

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APR 1 4 2025

Trump executive orders testing courts

Record pace met with unprecedented rulings

Bart Jansen
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON – Everything is an "emergency" in the legal fight over President Donald Trump's second-term policies – and the courts are groaning under the weight of it all.

Trump signed a record number of executive orders – 109 in the first 70 days of his second term – to get his administration off to a fast start rather than wait for Congress to haggle over legislation. The rate eclipsed the 99 executive orders that then President Franklin Delano Roosevelt signed in his first 100 days in 1933 to combat the Great Depression.

In his address to Congress on March 4, Trump boasted that his reason for taking "swift and unrelenting action" since returning to the White House was to drain "the swamp" of "unelected bureaucrats" in the federal government.

"We have accomplished more in 43 days than most administrations accomplished in four years or eight years," Trump said. "And we are just getting started."

The president's urgent pace has upended lives. A ban on transgender troops,

See TRUMP ORDERS, Page 6A

President Donald Trump signs an executive order during an event in the Rose Garden at the White House on April 2. SAUL LOEB/AFP VIA GETTY IMAGES

IN FORUM

Reader views on executive orders

Voices from across the nation chime in: Is the president doing too much?

Future of Meals On Wheels uncertain

Seniors fear program on DOGE chopping block

Phaedra Trethan
USA TODAY

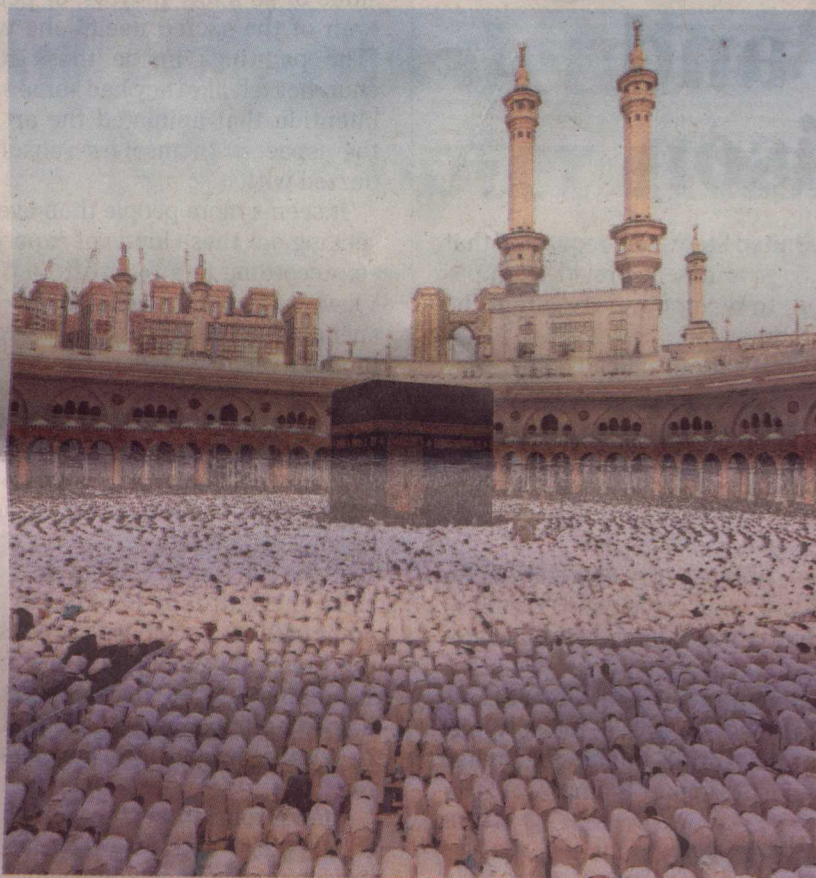
Rose Marie Delagram says she doesn't like to watch the news lately.

The 89-year-old from Whiting, New Jersey, finds it stressful to see reports about federal layoffs and spending cuts, and she worries how it will affect her daily deliveries from her local Meals On Wheels program.

"With all these cuts going on everywhere I am very concerned," the mother of two, grandmother of three and great-grandmother of five said. "It's a very stressful situation."

Workers prepare entrees at Meals On Wheels in Ocean County, New Jersey. The program offers home-delivered meals, activities and wellness checks. PHAEDRA TRETHAN/USA TODAY

That seems to be a common feeling among the people connected to Meals On Wheels programs across the coun-

At sacred sites, travelers reconnect – with themselves and each other

Morning prayer around the Kaaba at the Grand Mosque in Mecca, Saudi Arabia, at the start of Eid al-Fitr. ABDEL GHANI BASHIR/AFP VIA GETTY IMAGES

Finding faith in places far from home

Zach Wichter and Bailey Schulz
USA TODAY

Wad Khalafalla had never planned on visiting Saudi Arabia

"It's insane how easily someone can take away your freedom, lock you in a federal prison, without a clear reason. No explanation. No warning."

Australian Renato Subotic
On Instagram after being detained in early April

Tourists say ICE treated them like criminals

Complaints of arbitrary, punishing detentions

Trevor Hughes and Lauren Villagran
USA TODAY

A British backpacker. A Harvard researcher. A Canadian actress. An Australian mixed martial arts coach. Dozens of international college students.

The Trump administration's sweeping immigration-and-visa crackdown has begun ensnaring a class of people long-accustomed to being welcomed with open arms into the United States.

And those uncommon detainees are bringing new attention to the often-harsh U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement detention system, where people can be held without charge indefinitely, sometimes in shocking conditions, or abruptly removed from the country.

This type of treatment has long been the case in ICE detention, but the people held by the government often didn't have the resources – the access, language or middle-class expectations – to denounce the conditions.

Now, with President Donald Trump's crackdown, native English speakers, people with PhDs, and others are getting the word out to a broader public about a system they describe as arbitrary and punishing – although ICE detention is not supposed to resemble prison.

"It's insane how easily someone can take away your freedom, lock you in a